

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

March 10th, 1957

ARCHY' AT DAGENHAM

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But that's just too bad. Just as in society at large we have to combat the power-seekers, so do the workers in industry. And just as we maintain that social institutions should exist to serve society, so the organisations of industrial workers should exist to serve them, and through such organisations could the workers serve society. But while the workers are continually being exploited by their employers, and the official unions accept that situation and tacitly support it, we can hardly expect workers to think in terms of serving society.

Stewards Not Represented

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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'ANARCHY' AT DAGENHAM

THE Court of Inquiry into the dispute at the Dagenham works of Briggs Motor Bodies has commenced its investigations, and the evidence up to the time of writing has confirmed our own analysis of the situation.

More important than that, it is publicising the alternative which the workers themselves are creating to the sterile and bureaucratic trades unions.

Small wonder, then, that we are told that the situation which existed at Briggs was 'sheer anarchy', and although we have our own reservations at the sense in which the words are used, it is clear that what they really mean is that the 'underdogs' were claiming too much say in their own affairs for the liking of the top-dogs.

We have on many occasions pointed out in these columns the falsity of the situation wherein trade union officials make agreements at national level, or even at management level, which have to be imposed upon the rank and file who have not been consulted. Such agreements are no more binding upon the individual trade unionist than are the treaties made by governments upon the individual citizen.

This points to the distinction always made by anarchists between being 'represented' by somebody else—who take decisions in your name—and delegating somebody to carry out decisions which you have already made yourself. The one leads to irresponsibility on the parts of both the representatives and the represented; the other to responsibility in a functional relationship.

In discussing the Briggs affair (last week and previously) we pointed out how the official trade union leaders were jealous of the power and influence of the shop stewards. But we maintained then,

and still do, that the stewards' organisation represents something much truer and nearer to the form that a workers' organisation should take than does the trade union itself. It allows direct expression of the workers' needs and abilities, while the official machinery provides nothing but delay, frustration and meaningless compromise. Except for the officials. For them it provides jobs, position, privilege—status. Of course they are going to resent anything which may appear to be a threat to that.

But that's just too bad. Just as in society at large we have to combat the power-seekers, so do the workers in industry. And just as we maintain that social institutions should exist to serve society, so the organisations of industrial workers should exist to serve them, and through such organisations could the workers serve society. But while the workers are continually being exploited by their employers, and the official unions accept that situation and tacitly support it, we can hardly expect workers to think in terms of serving society.

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'The greed of British business-men and the fumbling effort had made an unwitting contribution to this mass movement by a national tribal culture that had once given meaning to these people there burned in these black hearts a hunger to regain control and create a new sense of their destinies . . .

'What I had seen was not politics proper; it was politics played upon religion; what I had seen was a smattering of Marxism and a thirst for self-redemption! And I suspected that Nkrumah, his agent provocateur to the emotions of millions—emotions which quite grasp or understand in all of their ramifications . . .

★

THERE is an inevitable paradox in the attitude of the anarchists—those who seek a non-governmental form of society—towards the struggles of colonial peoples for political independence. We are bound to support their aspirations and to play our part in changing opinion about them in this country. The activities of the Colonial Office are conducted in our name, and whether or not we feel responsible for them, the colonial people will certainly hold us responsible. But when a colonial territory has gained its freedom from imperial control, and a new state comes into being, with the usual panoply of armies, law courts, prisons, parliaments and ambitious politicians, we are bound to recognise that from the point of view of human freedom, one struggle is over only to give birth to a new one. And often those leaders who have been most worthy of support in the first one, become the adversaries in the second. For as FREEDOM's editorial put it last week, even the new nations born of persecution or through struggle for liberation, "face a new life with hardened arteries; they have learned

—RICHARD WRIGHTE
nothing from the past and act along the lines of the persecutors and oppressors.

If we were to say that Ghana, the former Gold Coast, the chist point of view, changer masters, "So much the worse if it elevates theories to a fact". Because to have squeezed without bloodshed, forcing their hand, 'isation' of the government which ten years ago seemed impossible, achievement; because during the régime of the People's Party, a 'lease of creative development of the people he knows the simple Nkrumah's remark to be able to manage affairs, or mismanagement to be free to manage your own affairs"; is well aware of the percussions which Ghana will have on Africa.

Kwame Nkrumah

'Militant' American Farmers

About 7½ per cent. of the milk ordinarily shipped to wholesalers for the metropolitan area was reported withheld by farmers yesterday in a widening demonstration seeking higher prices. This represented about 700,000 quarts. Major milk distributors said, however, that full consumer supplies here were assured for to-day, and to-morrow. Violence erupted in scattered areas. Some dairymen were pulled from their trucks and beaten. Thousands of gallons of milk were dumped. A number of trucks in Unionville and Warwick, N.Y., were fired on. None of the drivers were injured.

Dynamite blasts were touched off in front of two homes near Sussex, N.J. Kerosene was poured into milk supplies in some places in Orange County, N.Y.

Milk supplies for New Jersey, upstate New York and Pennsylvania also were being interrupted in part by the boycott begun Sunday.

Five men were arrested by state police near Monroe, N.Y., to-night after a rifle was fired into a milk tank truck on Route 17, causing its load of milk to run out on the highway. Another man was arrested at Montgomery when a rifle was found in his car, state police said.

Scores of troopers were sent into Orange County from points as far away as Albany and Long Island. It was reported 150 troopers were patrolling the county early this morning. Troopers dispersed crowds that had gathered around creameries in Montgomery, Middletown, Warwick, Unionville, Washington and Circleville.

Troopers in Orange County planned to

escort all trucks coming into New York.

The Rev. John Dorney, executive director of the Tri-state Master Dairy Farmers Guild, asserted in Branchville, N.J., late yesterday that 7,000 to 9,000 farmers in the three states were withholding milk. These, he said, included his organization's 3,500 members, with individuals from other groups. He forecast a rise to 25,000 participating by Saturday.

(New York Times).

WORLD WHEAT PRODUCTION DOWN

ROME, FEBRUARY 25.

World wheat production for the current crop year of 1956-7 is likely to be about 121 million metric tons, some two million tons below production for 1955-56, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation reported to-day. The figures do not include production in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Canada.

In the United States and Canada efforts to cut production had been defeated by high yields. The United States crop was put at 27,100,000 tons, 7 per cent. above the previous year's output, and there are stocks of 28 million tons. Canadian production rose by 1,200,000 tons over the previous year's production of 13,400,000 tons.

Production in Western Europe dropped from 37,800,000 tons in 1955 to 31,900,000 in 1956, in spite of increased harvests.—Reuter.

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Threepence

"It is indeed curious to consider men make the gods that they themselves worship."

—THOMAS CARLYLE.

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said that the note of triumph was echoed in the March issue of the publication where the headline was used, 'Draft Four Laid to Rest.'

In spite of this, however, Mr. Blakeman and the union officials went ahead and on August 23, 1955, the procedure agreement was brought into operation at all the company's plants.

The agreement was based on the simple principle that wages and major working conditions should be negotiated at national level and domestic matters at local level. It established clearly defined machinery for dealing with problems emanating from the shop floor, and the general principles stated that at each stage every attempt would be made to resolve issues which had been raised and that until such procedure had been carried out there would be no stoppage of work or other unconstitutional action. And every worker knows just what that means: delays, frustrations, bureaucracy, rejections.

Mr. Blakeman then had the effrontery to say: "We were encouraged to believe that this agreement, which had been in no way imposed but freely negotiated, would be accepted at all levels."

It was not imposed on the union leaders—it was freely negotiated by them—but what about the men in the workshops? They had expressed their opposition to the agreement for months beforehand—but still it went through at top level.

Continued on p. 4

GHANA & AFRICAN FREEDOM

'The Prime Minister advanced to the microphones . . .

"We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility!" "Free-dooooom! Free-dooooom!"

'The crowd chanted as their dark and emotion-spent faces left the meeting; wistfully I watched their toga-draped bodies wander off in the fading light of the setting sun . . . I sat brooding. How had he conquered them? He had held in the palms of his hands; he had poured scorn on the claims of the opposition; he had allowed no mercy for a contrary opinion; and it seemed that that was all his followers wanted. Prolonged British evasion and aloofness had made them ready to embrace certainty, definiteness . . .

'The greed of British business-men and the fumbling efforts of missionaries had made an unwitting contribution to this mass movement by shattering the traditional tribal culture that had once given meaning to these people's lives, and now there burned in these black hearts a burning desire for freedom . . .

where the older generation of nationalist leaders in the Gold Coast failed, because, learning from his student days in America and Britain, he has built up a centralised streamlined political machine, with loudspeaker vans, great rallies, flags and songs and an atmosphere of religious revivalism. Where the opponents of the CCP have had scruples, he has none. When the American Negro

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—RICHARD WRIGHT: *Black Power*.

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If we were to say to a citizen of Ghana, the former British colony of the Gold Coast, that from an anar-chist point of view, he had merely changer masters, he would reply "So much the worse for anarchism if it elevates theories above observ-able fact". Because he knows that to have squeezed out the British without bloodshed, by continually forcing their hand, in the 'African-isation' of the government, at a pace which ten years ago would have seemed impossible, is a remarkable achievement; because he has seen during the régime of the Congress People's Party, a "tremendous re-lease of creative energy" in the de-velopment of the country; because he knows the simple truth of Kwame Nkrumah's remark that "it is better to be able to manage your own affairs, or mismanage them, than not to be free to manage or mismanage your own affairs"; and because he is well aware of the important re-percussions which Ghana's indepen-dence will have on the whole of Africa.

Kwame Nkrumah has succeeded

where the older generation of nation-alist leaders in the Gold Coast failed, because, learning from his student days in America and Britain, he has built up a centralised streamlined political machine, with loudspeaker vans, great rallies, flags and songs and an atmosphere of religious re-vivalism. Where the opponents of the CCP have had scruples, he has none. When the American Negro writer Richard Wright interviewed the opposition leaders he found them baffled and resentful. He dis-cussed Nkrumah with Dr. Danquah: "Dou you think he'll keep power for long?" I asked.

"Yes; until the illiterate masses wake up," he said.

"Why don't you try to win the masses to your side?"

I watched a grimace come over his face; he looked at me and smiled rue-fully.

"Masses?" he echoed the word. "I don't like this thing of masses. There are only individuals for me—"

"But masses form the basis of political power in the modern world to-day," I told him . . .

And suddenly it flashed through me that this man was not a politician and would never be one.

It was the same when he inter-viewed Professor Busia, the leader

Continued on p. 4

A DEFIANT CYPRIOT STUDENT

NICOSIA, FEBRUARY 25.

Evagoras Palikarides (19), a student at Paphos College, was sentenced to death here to-day for being found in possession of a Bren gun last December. It was the fifth death sentence this month under the emergency regulations.

Palikarides, the first Cypriot to plead guilty to a capital charge since the emergency began, told the Court: "I know you will sentence me to death. I have this to say—what I did I did be-cause, as a Greek Cypriot, I wanted freedom."

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Doctor Pascal	Emile Zola	18/-
A Love Affair	Emile Zola	16/-
Kruschev and Stalin's Ghost		
	Bertram D. Wolfe	25/-
The Psychology of Child and Youth Drawing	H. N. Eng	50/-
Art and Industry (revised)	Herbert Read	30/-
Mama, I Love You		
	William Saroyan	15/-
Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female	A.C. Kinsey	56/-

Penguins . . .

Beowulf	(trans. D. Wright)	2/6
A Dictionary of Politics		
	Florence Elliott & M. Summerskill	4/-
Brazilian Adventure		
	Peter Fleming	3/6
Selected Essays	George Orwell	2/6
Fairy Tales	C. Perrault	2/6
Education: an Introductory Survey		
	W. O. Lester Smith	3/6

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The Specialist	Charles Sale	2/-
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	Oscar Wilde	2/-
Pierre Noziere	Anatole France	2/6
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The Meaning of Marxism		
	G. D. H. Cole	4/6
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Listen Comrades	El Campesino	6/-
Dialogue with Death		
	Arthur Koestler	5/6
The Dance of Death		
	W. H. Auden	4/-
Science in Liberated Europe		
	J. G. Crowther	4/-
In Spite Of	John Cowper Powys	5/-
Buoyant Billions, etc.	G. B. Shaw	3/-

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VIEWPOINT

COMMUNITY EXAMINED

I BELIEVE that there are way of living in which human beings through a high degree of mutuality can develop capacities which ordinary competitive life thwarts or twists out of shape. On the other hand I recall some rather disillusioning experiences with attempts to bring this ideal to practical fulfilment. I am left with a number of firm convictions about the things which work against the realization of the community ideal.

First is the tendency to overestimate the amount of self-sacrifice of which human beings are capable over a long period. In a brief emergency almost anyone can perform feats normally beyond him, but for this effort to continue there has to be continued pressure from outside. Just the task of keeping alive day after day, even in an ideal society, doesn't make us able to work at an abnormal level. Inevitably a slowing-down occurs, work schedules can't be met, disillusionment creeps in, harsh words are exchanged and the community begins to crumble at its edges as people move away. So the first essential, from my point of view, is a realistic assessment of what we can expect of ourselves, not just when enthusiasm is high, but later when routine has become established. That means much better planning than is usual with groups full of desire to abandon the world of shifts and compromises and build a new heaven on earth. We are people, not angels, and should face that fact at the start of our experiment rather than have it thrust crudely upon us at its end.

Non-material Needs

Second is the disregard for non-material needs. Plain living and high thinking sound good but they do not make up a balanced diet. We need art, music (better music than we can make for ourselves), learning new things from new minds, recreation—many things that seem to unbalance the Spartan budget in the direction of needless luxury. After a long period of deprivation, the experience of hearing a symphony can be as painful as that of feeling blood return to a frost-bitten finger. I am thinking now of a group that refused the offered loan of a piano on the ground that "too much time was being wasted already". This same group sternly rebuked one of its members who liked to cook and had expended love and skill in making an attractive dish out of the available materials; they said she had been wasting time which was the property of the commun-

ity. This is simply a slow form of death comparable to the quicker death which comes if we deprive ourselves of the immediate material needs like food, clothing or sleep. We cannot provide ourselves with a sufficient cultural universe out of our own resources.

Third obstacle—the insistence on too much communal living. I believe myself that one communal meal a day is about as much as flesh and blood will stand. Every family must have its own separate living space—preferably its own separate house. Children are not community property; they belong to themselves, and our task is to see that they enjoy their birthright, which is family life. I learn from Stephen Spender's book "Learning Laughter" that this realization is beginning to creep into the most communally-minded of the settlements in Israel.

Obstacle number four is the attempt to get along at too low a standard of physical subsistence. This is insidious and does not show itself in overt ways until the damage has gone quite far. Unnecessary fatigue cuts into working efficiency. Hunger dulls the edge of creative thought. Even a succession of adequately balanced but unappetizing meals (worse yet when they are eaten off bare boards with a wooden spoon) can fail to give us what we need to live at our fullest capacity. We do the world no service when we reduce our bodies to nothing better than ill-fuelled, ill-lubricated machines. This is another area where we need to keep well in sight the difference between saints, who are rare beings in more ways than one, and plain people like ourselves trying to find a way in which other plain people may want to follow.

Community Isolationism

Finally, and most strongly, I protest the tendency to strive for the impossible goal of economic self-sufficiency. If we called it "autarkie" we would see it more in its true colours. Not only does commerce with the world outside provide us with better-balanced living on the physical plane; it also gives that indispensable exchange on higher human levels without which we become monsters of self-satisfaction. There are many people not living in communities who are far more satisfactory human beings than those who do live in communities, and we forget this at our peril. I would be so unorthodox as to suggest that the plan for the first year or so should be based on the earning of wages by several mem-

bers of the group. Even at its highest the community should be a means by which regular members who regular the larger society from developing the common life. quote: "No man do we fail to all humanity is the belong?"

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Some Factors Affecting Emotional Development

(Continued from last week)

Since infantile masturbation is an essential part of physical and mental development, a stepping stone on the road to later complete sexual orientation, suppression can only be achieved at the grave risk of later neuroses and sexual maladjustment.

Delinquent tendencies in older children and adults can, as was mentioned before, in very many cases be traced back

circumstances leading to unnecessary genital awareness which may result in a later fixation should be avoided.

Masturbatory activities are sometimes a sign that the child is bored. The youngster should be provided with sufficient play material and companions of similar age to keep him or her reasonably occupied during waking hours. The practice of punishing a child by sending him or her to bed is undesirable. So also can be the custom of putting children

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Delinquent tendencies in older children and adults can, as was mentioned before, in very many cases be traced back to repressive attitudes by parents (or others responsible for the child's training) during the individual's early life. The child whose parents have repressive sexual attitudes is likely to suffer from deprivation in other respects also. The parent with a horror of masturbation (very often the case in parents with strong religious convictions) may, if he finds his child persisting in the practice, develop a hatred for the youngster. He usually does not realize that by his attitude and the, possibly subconscious, resultant deprivation of love he has produced the emotional trauma in the child which can only be alleviated by the youngster seeking within himself or herself the solace he or she is unable to find elsewhere. So that masturbatory activities may be actually increased.

The frequency with which masturbatory activities occur varies considerably from child to child and with circumstances. It is usually greatest, as suggested above, in the insecure child, deprived of physical love. Sometimes such deprivation may arise from less obvious causes such as the parents' subconscious preference for one sibling. Minor delinquency within the home may sometimes be an indication of this (for example, stealing—"the child who steals, steals love"). Overt discrimination is easily detectable and is, regrettably, too often present in families. Children reared in institutions tend to masturbate or exhibit certain infantile behaviour characteristics more than those with parents or foster parents.

During periods of emotional stress (for example, after the arrival of a new baby into the family) many children resort to increased masturbatory activity. Others may revert to enuresis after being dry for some time or show a similar reversion to some earlier phase of development.

Very often such re-emergence of earlier traits follows the emotional upset resulting from the prohibition of masturbatory activities when such prohibition is successful. Other emotional disorders may also result from prohibition—for example, fear of the dark may frequently be traced to a parental ban on masturbation.

While attempts to suppress masturbation in the young child cannot be too strongly condemned there is, of course, no justification for encouraging the activity unduly and cir-

cumstances leading to unnecessary genital awareness which may result in a later fixation should be avoided.

Masturbatory activities are sometimes a sign that the child is bored. The youngster should be provided with sufficient play material and companions of similar age to keep him or her reasonably occupied during waking hours. The practice of punishing a child by sending him or her to bed is undesirable. So also can be the custom of putting children to bed unnecessarily during the middle of the day, or too early in the evening. Whilst children need a lot of sleep the self-regulated child will naturally take the sleep he or she requires. The continental practice of not putting a child to bed until he or she is tired has much to commend it. That this custom is not deleterious can be seen by the fact that French and Italian children are possibly the finest in the world. In the countries where love of children is traditional parents do not so easily tire of the company of their young, as does the British parent—all too often the attitude here is to get the child out of the way before the father returns from work.

The above remarks do not, of course, mean that parents should be continually watching the child to see that he or she is actively engaged in some non-sexual game or pastime. The youngster has as much right to privacy as the adult. And if it should happen that during his or her play the young child feels the desire to masturbate, the parent should realize that the youngster is satisfying an inner need and should ignore the incident.

The parent should ensure that the external genitals are kept clean and free from any possible sources of irritation—for example, in the case of a boy, the prepuce should, during bathing, be retracted and all traces of smegma removed. In girls the presence of an infection such as pinworm may contribute to genital irritation.

It might be mentioned here that in boys indiscriminate circumcision for so-called "hygienic reasons" or mere fashion, such as seems to be the custom in the USA—some schools there insist on boys being circumcized—and which is becoming more common here, is a quite unwarranted practice often producing undesirable psychic trauma and not infrequently later physical difficulties¹⁸. (The circumcision at puberty, practised by very many peoples to mark the transition from childhood to manhood and to complete the initiation into full tribal membership, can have psychological effects, when it is carried out with traditional tribal ceremony and has not degenerated into a mere social convention, which are not injurious. It is not, however, a practice to be recommended, the suffering of the boys during the operation cannot be

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bers of the group working on the outside. Even at its highest development a community should have certain of its members who regularly exchange skills with the larger society, just to keep gangrene from developing when the circulation of the common life is stopped. We can all quote: "No man is an island"—why then do we fail to allow for the fact that all humanity is the continent to which we belong?

What I am asking for is a deeper real-

Popular Frontism, etc.

It is quite common practice for people to identify themselves exclusively with one particular Movement despite attraction towards other Societies, Associations or "isms". Less commonly, perhaps, a person cannot rest content within such narrow confines. Such is my position. There is no single Movement broad enough yet narrow enough to appease my strange appetite. That is to say, for instance, broad enough to attract the man who "believes" in a "universal" type "god" (i.e. the super-attenuated "god" which may be equated with "good") yet narrow enough to exclude him if he accepts a salary from a church organisation.

Consequently I buzz like a bewildered bee from flower to flower sipping a little Secularism here, a little Anarchism there . . . Humanism . . . Socialism . . . Communism . . . Buddhism . . . Christianity. Yes, even Christianity—where it does not set itself above Buddha, Confucius & Co., where it discards the myth and ritual which has kept millions in fear and poverty for two thousand years; where the only thing that really matters is that part of the message, common to Buddha, Confucius, etc., which urges the necessity of toleration and kindly feeling AND FORTHRIGHTNESS.

There must be others who share this frustration at so many Movements separated by opinions so fine as to be virtually intangible. Who, in the libertarian sphere, would not read, with interest, *FREEDOM, The Humanist, Peace News, The Socialist Leader, The Freethinker* . . . the lot, if the pocket would stand it?

It would be of immense benefit to all if the resources could be pooled.

There are objections, needless to say. There is the Secularist so jealous of his militancy that he cannot quite hit it off

ization of the true nature of sharing at the very highest level—not just a maintaining a common purse. We would do better to love each other and have separate bank balances than to have everything so much in common that indifference or even hatred become the emotional climate of our days. Let our mutuality begin where it counts most, and work its way gradually down till it fills all the crevices of daily life. To work from the bottom up has meant for too many community-minded groups that they never reach the high places at all.

NORMA JACOBS,

(From "Liberation", New York.)

with his "reverent Rationalist" friend. There is the Humanist who is at odds with the Anarchist because he believes some degree of law and order to be necessary. These differences, I contend, are not sufficient to warrant the separate existence of those bodies. Each one is bent upon attaining, as nearly as possible, an Ideal.

The nearer each Movement gets towards its Ideal the smaller becomes the difference between those Movements.

For example, when the Socialist has advanced further (much further!) towards his goal he will then be on equal terms with the Anarchist Gradualist.

But wait! The Anarchist (Idealist) will say that the Socialist CANNOT advance. Agreed. The Socialist cannot advance—unless the Anarchist is at his side pushing, protesting, encouraging.

The Anarchist must get inside the ring. He must join a political party which has some influence in the government of the Country. If he stays outside he is lost. If he gets inside he can attack the "pseudo" element. Then, perhaps, we may advance towards that elusive goal where "Socialism" is synonymous with "Anarchism", "Communism", "Humanism", "Secularism". Where, indeed, "God" equals "Good".

Slough,

ERNIE CROSSWELL.

Now and then we feel justified in publishing contributions such as the one from a well-meaning correspondent in Slough. Mr. Crosswell seems to know the answers, but it doesn't prevent him from putting forward proposals which he and all of us know will not work. Anarchists must not get inside the political "rings". What they need to do is to break the ring and this can surely be best achieved by attacking—with ideas and by example from outside!—EDITORS].

Protecting Emotional Development in Children—4

cumstances leading to unnecessary genital awareness which may result in a later fixation should be avoided.

Masturbatory activities are sometimes a sign that the child is bored. The youngster should be provided with sufficient play material and companions of similar age to keep him or her reasonably occupied during waking hours. The practice of punishing a child by sending him or her to bed is undesirable. So also can be the custom of putting children

justified by any ultimate psychological benefit. Female circumcision is outrageous).

Ill-fitting clothes or those made from irritant materials must be avoided. Clothes generally should be light and kept to the minimum consistent with physical comfort. Many parents tend to overdress their children, erroneously thinking that bulk ensures warmth. In warm weather children are both happier and healthier without clothes when playing

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around the home or garden or on the beach. This is par-
ticularly so if the youngsters are amusing themselves around
a paddling pool or in the sea. Wet pants drying on the body
are not only uncomfortable but may lead to unpleasant skin
rashes. Also it is easier to wash dirt from skin than from
clothes! (It is a common practice in some parts of the Con-
tinent, particularly in country districts, for toddlers to be
naked below the waist to save laundry work. This is a case
where a social custom can unwittingly assist emotional
development—there being freedom from genital restriction—
instead of, as is generally the case, being restrictive).

However, the thoughtful parent, recognizing the danger
to emotional development if genital play is prohibited and
realizing the inner need of the child which is being satisfied
by the practice, will not be alarmed by its appearance nor
take punitive measures. He may, if he suspects any contri-
buting psychological disturbance, do some private soul-
searching into the relationship between himself and the child.

Sexually enlightened parents, aware of the comfort to
the child of masturbation, ensure that the night clothes of
the young child are loose enough to permit genital play.
Diapers should be dispensed with as soon as possible—par-
ticularly if the child begins to show discomfort at the
restriction of the genitals. Even if the child is still not dry
at night the extra laundry work is worth while if it aids
later emotional adjustment. The ideal is to let the child
sleep nude—if the bedroom is adequately heated lest the
youngster throws off the bedclothes in the night.

Measures taken by some old-fashioned parents to pre-
vent children masturbating at night—sealed pyjamas, mittens,
bandaging the genitals, tying the hands, applying ointments
containing substances such as cocaine to the external genitals,
etc., should come within the scope of the laws protecting
the child against cruelty. Parents who practise such methods
are unfit to bring up their children.

A.C.F.C.

(To be continued)

¹⁸ See: Allendy & Lobstein: "Sex Problems in School"; also R. W.
B. Ellis (ed.): "Child Health and Development". This latter
book quotes the result of a survey carried out in Liverpool.
Of males who had been circumcized, 22% had suffered from
post-operative effects such as sepsis.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 18, No. 10. March 10, 1957

Progress Through Objectivity

ONE explanation for the slowness of social change may be that human beings instead of becoming more objective as they grow older, and thus always more able to understand the complexities of the human mind, the motivations in human behaviour, and the aspirations of the young, based on their own experience of life, show quite the opposite development. And since in most societies power, whether political and economic or simply that conferred on those who are recognised as the "wise men", is generally held by human beings mature in years the tendency is towards a consolidation of the existing social forms rather than that the values on which society is based should be continuously challenged and even resisted by open rebellion. We are not necessarily saying that all values today are bad. What we are saying, however, is that no values are absolute; that it is only by relating them to a philosophy of life which allows free development to all mankind, that we can see these values in their proper perspective. And we would add that we cannot even become complacent in assuming timeless validity to any "philosophy of life" which will satisfy all men!

Is this conservatism in man a physiological problem, a general slowing down of the human machine which predisposes him to understand and accept only that way of life which has become, as it were, second nature to him, and unable to make any further effort, to go beyond what he already knows? Or is it of psychological origin, a clinging to material and spiritual security (which in fact are only superficial) because of a fear of the insecurity that might emerge as a result of an upheaval in which the values on which society is to-day founded might collapse and be replaced by new values?

We would accept the latter explanation, if only because from our experience we know of too many forward looking octogenarians and too many security-minded young people to believe that the latter

leaders and those who accept to be led. They both suffer from the same disease of believing that society is composed of those unable to run their own lives and of an elite able to manage their lives for them. The power complexes of the latter are no less pathological than the servility of the former, which probably explains why neither is happy and that the expectation of life of both is nowadays about the same. Power is an occupational disease no less than silicosis and dermatitis.

★

THE above reflections were provoked by a remarkable article, *Cruelty Knows no Frontiers*, which appeared in last Sunday's *Observer*. The author, Istvan Tatrav was a leading member of the re-formed Smallholders' Party when the Communists came to power in Hungary. He was arrested in 1947, tortured first by the Hungarian and then by the Russian police and sentenced to twenty-five years in Soviet labour camps. He was returned to Hungary last year and released on the eve of the revolution. He is now one of the refugees who have found asylum in this country.

We will tell you what is remarkable about this article. Here is a man who during the past ten years has been subjected to the most horrible kinds of torture as well as imprisonment and who when he emerges from this living hell has the mental power and a sufficiently strong feeling of belonging to the human race, to be able to examine his experience objectively, as a contribution to man's better understanding of himself and not as grist for the political mill. Modestly, as if his ill-treatment was of no more significance than that suffered by millions of other human beings throughout the world at the hands of the power maniacs*, Mr. Tatrav explains why he is telling his story.

I tell it because this experience took place in Budapest [in 1947—Eds.] and the cruelties were committed by Hungarians against a Hungarian. The rest of my story, which involved several years in Soviet prisons and labour-camps, contains very little new for the student of Soviet police methods. But my Budapest experience seems to be important, because it illuminates an aspect of the human situation which is not widely understood: these things could happen here and everywhere.

He finds that there is general belief that the worst excesses of police tyranny have flourished only in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and that these excesses arise from the national character of the Germans and the Russians. This in his view "is

in the police forces of Hungary as well as of Poland". Then there are

the scandals in the French police which come to light from time to time, the too-indulgent use of third-degree methods in America, should alone put us on our guard: they show that even in the liberal and democratic West there are dangerous forces latent which, given their head, would soon emulate the terror tactics of the M.V.D. and the Gestapo.

And we would add that in Kenya, Cyprus and Malaya so far as Britain is concerned, and the French in Algeria, it is clear that these "dangerous forces latent" have been given their head and have proved to be no less brutal than their Russian and German counterparts.

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MR. TATRAN'S general conclusions can bring no consolation to the politicians but should be taken to heart by those of us who are their willing or unwilling dupes. Of the people "who find their way into the police forces of authoritarian societies" he writes:

not one is fit to have the power of life and death over another individual. The only man who is fit to have such power is the man who will not seek it or who, as a Minister of State, or a judge, performs his duties in the full view of the population, which, more or less directly, has assented to his appointment, and who is subject to a body of law which is stronger than his will.

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We would accept the latter explanation, if only because from our experience we know of too many forward looking octogenarians and too many security-minded young people, to believe in an inevitable physiological basis to conservatism (in its reactionary sense)! On the other hand the "psychological" explanation, while, to our minds, of fundamental importance is not the complete answer to our original question. Undoubtedly we all are subjected to a deep conditioning in our earliest youth and which for the majority of our fellow beings determines their thinking, their attitudes and their prejudices in later life. What we have to realise is that the human mind however receptive it may be, can hardly be condemned as dull if when it is most receptive it is stuffed with conformist ideas and prejudices all served up as absolute truths. After all is not the major problem of the anarchist propagandist not that of putting over his ideas but of persuading people to "find the time" and the "energy" to even examine these ideas? (The most vocal critics are often those who have never even read a pamphlet on anarchism. They give one the impression that whilst feeling thoroughly dissatisfied with life they are nevertheless afraid lest the foundations of this dissatisfaction shall be shattered by argument and new values. They prefer the anchor of dullness, security and unhappiness, to being cast adrift in a sea of ideas in which they could be both the compass and the helmsman).

To our minds there is little to choose, ethically speaking, between those who see themselves as the

man who during the past ten years has been subjected to the most horrible kinds of torture as well as imprisonment and who when he emerges from this living hell has the mental power and a sufficiently strong feeling of belonging to the human race, to be able to examine his experience objectively, as a contribution to man's better understanding of himself and not as grist for the political mill. Modestly, as if his ill-treatment was of no more significance than that suffered by millions of other human beings throughout the world at the hands of the power maniacs*, Mr. Tatray explains why he is telling his story.

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He finds that there is general belief that the worst excesses of police tyranny have flourished only in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and that these excesses arise from the national character of the Germans and the Russians. This, in his view "is a gross and dangerous over-simplification". Whilst he believes that the whole character of the Gestapo was quite different to that of the Russian M.V.D. and maintains that these differences "reflect differing attitudes towards authority and life" and that to "this extent they take their colour from the national character", Mr. Tatray adds these significant and warning sentences:

But the practice of uninhibited cruelty as such seems to know no national frontiers; and it seems to me important that everyone should realise this. What happened to me in Budapest in 1947, at the hands of my fellow-countrymen, could, in certain circumstances, happen to an American in New York or an Englishman in London.

The force of Istvan Tatray's thesis is almost strengthened by his pathetic attempts to be fair to the democracies. The last thing he wants to suggest is "that some nations are not more prone to totalitarian solutions than others" or that some countries "contain a bigger proportion of thugs than others" or may be "more easily ensnared by a philosophy of violence". But "none is totally immune". And he goes on to point out that "an entirely disproportionate" number of posts in the higher ranks of the Gestapo were filled by Austrians; that the police terror in Poland was run by Poles who had "nothing to learn from Russia". Deep psychological reasons of bitterness and revenge "must account for the remarkable proportion of Jews

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The two politicians have since been appearing regularly in the Press going here and there, being photographed looking at this and that. The Labour man left his duties long enough to preach at the Methodist chapel. The Conservative man has been the victim of a journalistic tug-of-war between two newspapers, one of which will call him Sir Anthony Kershaw, and the other one insists on Mr. Kershaw. (For the benefit of the literal-minded I can't say which is correct). All, you will see, was going well, until the two paid a visit to a sugar estate at Skeldon in the Courantyne district.

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FREEDOM

VOLINE :

Nineteen-Seventy
Revolution Begins
The Unknown
(Kronstadt 1917)

E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding
V. RICHARDS
Lessons of the

RUDOLF ROCK

Nationalism and

HERBERT READ

Art and the E
Existentialism,
Anarchism
Poetry and An
The Philosophy
The Education

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Whilst agreeing wholeheartedly with the sentiment that the only man who is fit to have power of life and death over another man is the man

who will not seek it—and presumably will not accept it?—we cannot agree to making a distinction between the police force and the government either in a totalitarian or so-called democratic State. If one is to credit the government for its "democratic" police force, similarly must one blame the government where its police force abuses its constitutional powers. But what appears to escape Mr. Tatray's objective approach is that in an "emergency" all governments give *carte blanche* to their police forces so long as they produce the results of restoring "law and order". (What, for instance, does he think of the British sortie in Cyprus last week-end when a force of sixty armed troops, with helicopters blasted out four Cypriot rebels from their hide-out in a cave. These methods earned high commendation from the Governor General, presumably in the cause of freedom and democracy?)

On the dangers of losing even the few liberties that remain, Mr. Tatray writes:

In Hungary my friends have lately been dying for freedom, which they valued more than life itself. In a modern, centralised, densely populated, highly articulated society it is all too easy to surrender fundamental liberties unconsciously, almost imperceptibly, little by little.

Never, for one moment, forget that where the individual abandons the power of decision and free choice, the policeman is waiting to take over.

But to our minds the most significant remark, is his "inescapable con-

clusion", and he has had many years "to reflect on these things":

It has the form of a paradox. It is that our only defence against the bad in human nature is to give the freest possible scope for the operation of human nature as a whole.

We find it difficult to express in words how much this statement means to us. Here is a man who for ten years has been tortured and imprisoned by his fellow-men, by his fellow countrymen as he is at pains to point out, yet who refuses to allow that his personal experience should influence his considered judgment of a problem which he has experienced at first hand as a victim. He has seen "the bad in human nature", but refuses to draw the defeatist conclusion that human nature is bad. On the contrary "give the freest scope for the operation of human nature" he declares and that which is good in human aspirations and needs will eventually rise above that which is bad.

Many years ago, another keen observer of humanity, Peter Kropotkin said somewhat similar things about freedom. The cure for the abuses of freedom, he said, was not less freedom but more freedom!

And those who knew Kropotkin are unanimous in declaring that he was a "good" man. Without knowing Mr. Tatray personally, but reading those conclusions he advances after ten years of suffering we feel that he too must be "a good man"! We need such men among us; they are the guarantee that some day Mankind will get its values straight!

Letter from British Guiana

What Next in the West Indies?

(From our Correspondent)

MEMBERS of Parliament, like stock-brokers on the Riveira and bank clerks on a day trip to Boulogne, tend to let their hair down when they get away from home.

The two M.P.s (one Labour and one Conservative), now forming what they coyly describe as an "unofficial delegation" to British Guiana started off well by giving a joint press conference. At least one newspaper in Georgetown reported the Labour M.P. as saying that, as far as colonial policy was concerned, there was no difference between his party and the Conservatives. This hardly caused a raised eyebrow amongst most Guianese, who, as colonials under both Governments, had already guessed as much, but one wonders what the effect of such an announcement would be if made at the hustings in Great Britain. Both M.P.s also agreed, democracy notwithstanding, that Britain would never, never, tolerate another communist government in British Guiana.

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While this sort of thing is allowed to go on (and the promise of equal treatment whichever British Government is in), it is not surprising that a lot of people in Guiana are willing to take their chances with the P.P.P., communist or not.

The People's Progressive Party itself seems to be in a state of disintegration, particularly since the news from Hungary and the public airing in the Press, not only of the quarrel between Jagan and Burnham, but of Jagan and at least one of his executive.

The division of the P.P.P. into two rival factions—each calling itself the P.P.P. and each publishing a weekly newspaper called *Thunderer*—appeared superficially to be a rift between the pro-communists under Jagan, and the pro-social-democrats under Burnham. But one hears a story all too familiar to anarchists—each one wanted to be boss.

adults. The father with his hand raised ready to smack the first child who plays too rough, and the nice auntie who will give sweets so long as the children's manners are polite—and stay that way. The British Government—and the private interests. That's the way a lot of people in British Guiana see it anyway, but that is too simple. There are many more difficulties the people of Guiana must face before they can even begin to relish the first taste of freedom. There is the Catholic church; there is a rising power in the native, coloured, bourgeoisie, with their lackey-devotion to the "British way of life"; there is the colour strata (not so much white *versus* black, but fair skin *versus* fairer skin); there is the enormous burden of the Civil Service, for practically everything not owned by big interests is run by the Government; there is the avariciousness of the literate merchant directed against the illiterate peasant; there is the very powerful police force, the hundreds of lawyers, preachers and others who prey on the poor and the badly-educated.

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Sometime this year, or next, there is to be an election. The party set-up is rather as it is in Great Britain, only more so. The left-wing is even slightly more subject to selfish (or, what is perhaps worse, dedicated), leadership, and the right is even slightly more fascist-inclined, or just plain corrupt.

Like children playing a game, the Guianese are closely watched by two

adults. The father with his hand raised ready to smack the first child who plays too rough, and the nice auntie who will give sweets so long as the children's manners are polite—and stay that way. The British Government—and the private interests. That's the way a lot of people in British Guiana see it anyway, but that is too simple. There are many more difficulties the people of Guiana must face before they can even begin to relish the first taste of freedom. There is the Catholic church; there is a rising power in the native, coloured, bourgeoisie, with their lackey-devotion to the "British way of life"; there is the colour strata (not so much white versus black, but fair skin versus fairer skin); there is the enormous burden of the Civil Service, for practically everything not owned by big interests is run by the Government; there is the avariciousness of the literate merchant directed against the illiterate peasant; there is the very powerful police force, the hundreds of lawyers, preachers and others who prey on the poor and the badly-educated.

You do not see the sort of heroism and revolutionary zeal that was displayed in Hungary. British Guiana, like many another colony of a powerful country is a wretched, almost hopeless, mess. However much one feels that the future of a society depends on the will of the people who make it up, one cannot fail to sympathise with the demand of many Guianese to the British Government—"You got us into this mess—now get us out of it."

A.

FREEDOM PRESS

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K. J. KENAFICK :

Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx paper 6s.

27, Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

Ghana and African Freedom

Continued from p. 1

of the National Liberation Movement, and asked him the significance of the oath-taking and libation-pouring at the rallies of the CCP.

"It's to bind masses to the party," he said. "Tribal life is religious through and through. Now these things, when employed at a political meeting, insure, with rough authority, that the masses will follow and accept the leadership. That is what so-called mass parties need . . . The leaders of the CCP use tribal methods to enforce their ends."

"I had the feeling that he was speaking sincerely, that he could not conceivably touch such methods, that he regarded them with loathing and that he did not even relish thinking that anybody else would. My personal impression was that Dr. Busia has not the force and drive that makes a mass leader. He was too analytical, too reflective to even want to get down into the muck of life and organise men. I sensed too, that maybe certain moral scruples would inhibit him in acting . . ."

Mr. Wright questioned Mr. John Tsiboe, the editor of an opposition newspaper in Ashanti, and asked him what he thought of political parties as instruments of the popular will. He replied:

"Now, it's not widely known, but the British offered us the party system before Nkrumah came along. We refused it. It clashes with our deepest traditions. We rejected it because it divides us. Our outlook upon life is based upon social cohesion . . . Until recently, I didn't know what politics was. We Africans

still don't know. In its election campaign, the CCP painted everybody black and white; all who were for the Convention People's Party were white, those who were against it were black bribe-takers, agents of imperialism . . . Our simple tribal people believed it all . . . Do you realise that, for six weeks during the positive action period, my home and office had to be protected by the police?"

★

IT is precisely this messianic and demagogic character of Dr. Nkrumah and the party which he wields so firmly, that has enabled them to achieve so much in the six years since his release from prison to become first 'Leader of Government Business' and then Prime Minister. And it is this too which makes the future so perilous. In his laudatory biography of Nkrumah, Mr. Bankole Timothy remarks:

"As a politician, Nkrumah's strength lies in his popular appeal, his powerful oratory, and his methods of rendering his political opponents unpopular, which are both direct and, mostly, indirect. Nkrumah's hold on the masses is strong; he can switch their emotions, like a radio set, to whatever pitch he desires at any given time. He has also made profitable use of the gullibility of the masses and never relaxes his intensive propaganda campaign for his party. As Elspeth Huxley puts it, 'as yet, Africa has no technique for cnumbing people like Nkrumah; he has the ball at his feet.'"

Will he, now that the struggle for political independence has been won, change his methods? Or will his opponents adopt them too? Their apprehensiveness over the future has been clear in the last-minute negotiations to write into the Constitution regional assemblies in addition to the National Assembly, and other safeguards for Ashanti and the Northern Territories, where the CCP has by no means the almost universal support which it has won in the coastal regions. It would be tragic if the first fruits of Ghana's independence are to be found in an acrimonious and possibly bloody struggle between centralist and regionalist politicians, with a revival of Ashanti tribal militarism, and the people as pawns. Tragic, not only for the Gold Coast because it will divert so much energy from the urgent task of conquering illiteracy and disease, but also for the whole hopes of African freedom. For while the world's eyes are turned on Ghana's independence celebrations this week, not all of them are

friendly. The French government, and the other imperial powers like Belgium and Portugal, the governments of the East African colonies, Mr. Strydom and his party in South Africa, as well as the Tory imperialists and the Beaverbrook press here in Britain, will be watching with glee to see if Ghana becomes another Liberia.

★

THE whole tragedy of the new nations struggling into independence is that their leaders, the educated and articulate minority upon whom so much depends, are shaped in their thinking by the same assumptions which lie behind the political systems of their former masters. There is not even that degree of fundamental political thinking that accompanied the break-away from the British empire, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. Whether the aim is socialism or 'free enterprise', the means involve the centralised state, the party system, and all the second-hand regalia of political power. In Accra, they even have Mr. Speaker with his wig and mace. The worst remaining aspects of indigenous social systems are exploited because they are useful politically, and the best aspects of tribalism are destroyed:

"In the Gold Coast . . . under the old system Village Councils usually comprised all the male inhabitants of the Village concerned, normally summoned to meetings by beating of gongs, ringing of bells or other traditional methods of announcement. Under the modern systems only a few people, selected by election, constitute the Village Councils".—(Ntiyong Akpan: *Epitaph of Indirect Rule*).

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*The World To-day 1957.

JUSTIFYING CRUELTY IN THE NAME OF BUSINESS

The British Field Sports Society yesterday answered a statement by the League Against Cruel Sports which, in protesting against the drowning of a deer by hounds in the river Barle, near Dulverton, some days ago, urged that the Devon and Somerset Staghounds should be disbanded as soon as possible. A spokesman for the society said in London:

"If deer hunting were abolished this year it would probably mean a complete shutdown for many hotels. Thousands of people are attracted to the West Country by the presence of deer and deer hunting. The dollar trade, too, would be affected, as this is a big attraction for scores of Americans.

"If this pack is disbanded the agricultural production of Exmoor would be seriously affected. The Ministry of Agriculture recognise hunting as the most satisfactory method of control. Hunting is also strongly supported by the Devon and Somerset Agricultural Executive Committees."

(Manchester Guardian).

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(Manchester Guardian).

South Africa

The Bus Boycott - What Next?

FOR two months the Africans of Johannesburg have kept up their boycott of bus transport in protest against fare increases. And this they have done in the face of police raids, brutality, and interference.

A week ago it was announced that the bus boycott was to be called off, to be replaced by an economic boycott of all manufacturers and shops run by nationalistic employers. This, however, does not seem to have developed, and the bus boycott is still on.

But it cannot remain for long in the same position, because the Government has now ordered the bus company to cease operations on the routes covered by the walkers and the Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoman, has introduced a bill in Parliament to prevent any other transport service being opened on the abandoned routes.

Meanwhile the walkers are still being harried by the police, who stop and search them for documents and passes. They try to make things as difficult as they can for any white drivers giving lifts to Africans and are continually raiding the townships involved in the boycott—as well as any premises in Jo'burg itself where Africans may be staying the night to avoid the long walk—to try and catch anyone evading the pass-laws.

More responsible sections of the white population and those in commerce and industry with interests in keeping the Africans coming to work have expressed their opposition to the Government's policy, which right from the start has been one of 'Kragdadig' or strong-arm. The Nationalists know no other way of dealing with the African save brutality.

The determination of the Africans to win some understanding and concession for their needs and the equal determination of the Government not to recognise them, has led to a deadlock to which it is difficult to foresee the end.

A new apartheid measure is now being introduced by Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, intended to prevent inter-racial gatherings over a large area not yet covered by apartheid laws. This is going to meet with some opposition from the non-Afrikaans churches at least, some of which have declared their intention of ignoring the new law.

Tension is building up into an explosive situation in South Africa. Observers think that a more 'radical' element is beginning to appear among Johannesburg Africans, and more boycotts and go-slow movements in industry may begin.

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16/6; Eccles: P.H. 7/-; London: C.F. 5/-;
Richmond: K.M. 6/-; Victoria: L.A.G. 16/6;
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12/6; Sheffield: P.L. 1/-; London: A.F. 2/-;
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Continued
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is akin to you has something to eat. It's Communism, but without any of the ideas of Marx or Lenin.

"The men with whom he had shared life were his brothers; men of the same generation were brothers . . . He had brothers, not the sons of his mother, but men to whom he felt a blood relation- ship, brothers who fed him when he was hungry, let him sleep when he was tired, consoled him when he was sad . . . He had a large 'family' that stretched for miles and miles . . . I tried to visualise it and I could not . . ."

(RICHARD WRIGHT: *Black Power*).

Here are two facets of the old tribal culture which could be built into a new social order, the first into a network of village communes, and the second into a system of mutual aid, more genuine and comprehen- sive than any 'welfare state'. But, instead, the CCP has made use of the most primitive and irrational features of tribalism, while the oppo- sition has been bargaining for the support of the backward-looking local chiefs. An article in the journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs notes that

"The 180 local councils set up in the last five years, with powers similar to those of rural and urban districts in Britain, have been mainly remarkable for party struggle and a complete exe- cutive apathy. Many have been replaced by management committees, often of nominees picked out by the Accra Min- istry but unknown in the area. It seems significant that in the last three years there have been no local council elec- tions."

and it goes on to express that

"it is probable that the greatest re- proach of Nkrumah, whose will is really the only unifying factor in the Gold Coast to-day, is that he has been so caught up in the whirl of development—the creation of modern amenities, a stadium, a library, a state house, a nat- ional museum, a national bank, in short a capital which could stand comparison among the nations of the world—that he has had little time to consider with any care the basic characteristics of the old tribal culture of the Gold Coast"*

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**The World To-day*, Vol. 13, No. 2. Feb. 1957.

FREEDOM

ted imitation of a European state, trapped in the web of politics. If the hunger for education and the pathetic 'thirst for self-redemption' of the people who swept Nkrumah into power, are left unsatisfied, Ghana, which could be a beacon to the whole of Africa, will merely be a warning of the folly and sterility of nationalism. C.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

MARCH 10—Dwight MacDonald on
FIRE OVER CAIRO

Questions, Discussion and Admission
all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.
MANETTE STREET
(Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

NEW YORK GROUP (Libertarian League)

announce a new series of Classes on

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERTARIAN THEORY

These classes will be held at 813 Broadway, New York on Monday nights, starting promptly at 7 p.m., and ending no later than 10 p.m.

Mar. 18—Kropotkin.

Mar. 25.—The Libertarian League.

★

LIBERTARIAN FORUM— FRIDAY NIGHTS AT 8.30— 813 BROADWAY.

Mar. 15—Paris 1871, Kronstadt 1921,
Budapest 1956.

Mar. 22—The People of the Paris Com-
mune.

Mar. 29—The World Government Move-
ment.

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,
32 PERCY STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.
(Tel.: MUSeum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
London Anarchist Group Meetings
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday:

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was imposed upon them from above
against their will. So why on earth
should they respect it?

In February, 1956, Mr. Beard, the
chairman of the trade union side of
the National Joint Council, sent a
letter to all employees of the com-
pany. In this letter Mr. Beard said:
"As we would insist on employers
honouring agreements, so we must
be prepared to do so ourselves.
Failure to do so would result in
anarchy."

May we enlighten Mr. Beard on
one thing? Anarchists *do* honour
agreements—but their own agree-
ments, not other peoples'. We do
not accept responsibility for deci-
sions taken above our heads and im-
posed upon us without our sanction.
But when we freely enter into an
agreement, on terms of equality and
not under duress, you will find a
responsible acceptance of liability.

Poor Mr. Beard, however, far
from scaring the Briggs workers,
suffered 'a great deal of attack from
certain of the company's employ-
ees.' Apparently they weren't so
scared of anarchy as he is.

One of Mr. Blakeman's remarks
must be put on record. He said:

"The sincerity of national trade
union officials has never been doub-
ted, but our experience has given us
no encouragement, and we are con-
vinced that any corrective measures
taken by the trade unions must be
backed up by firm disciplinary
action by the company as well."

There you have it in a nutshell.
Union and company will go hand-
in-hand to discipline the workers.
And we are expected to agree to
that and honour *their* agreements!

(Libertarian League)

announce a new series of Classes on

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These classes will be held at 813
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Mar. 25.—The Libertarian League.



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Budapest 1956.

Mar. 22—The People of the Paris Com-
mune.

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ROAD TO FREEDOM'

F. WESTACOTT (*Communist*)

PHILIP SANSOM (*Anarchist*)

Secular Hall, Humberstone Gat,
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Sunday, 17th March, 1957, at 6.30.

Organised by the Leicester Secular Society
Admission Free

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